CONFORMITY AND BENEFICIARY MEANINGS OF LATIN *SECUNDUM* NP: A CORPUS-BASED COGNITIVE ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

This paper adds to a body of cognitive studies on prepositions by presenting a corpus-based diachronic study of *secundum* NP with meaning of conformity and beneficiary. This paper discusses the possible origin of the conformity sense coming from an expression having the meaning 'downstream' and argues that an explanation based on the extraction of schemas from the proto-scene and force dynamics appears to be more plausible. This paper also argues that, although the beneficiary meaning is connected to the spatial meaning via a metaphorical link, force dynamics also plays a role, connecting it directly to the meaning of conformity.

Keywords: preposition, semantic change, metaphor, metonymy, force dynamics

1. INTRODUCTION

To date, no extensive research has been carried out on the Latin prepositional phrase *secundum* NP. The literature consists only of some sketchy observations put forward in Ferrari (1998), Rocha (1998), Heine & Kuteva (2002: 139), Guardamagna (2011) and Trabelsi (2013), mainly focusing on Romance continuers of *secundum* NP which are linked back to their Latin etymological source. This paper contributes to plugging this gap in the literature by providing a cognitive analysis of two meanings of Latin *secundum* NP, namely the conformity meaning (e.g. *secundum naturam* 'according to nature') and the beneficiary meaning (*secundum reos* 'in favour of the defendants').

This study draws on the *Latin Library* diachronic corpus and spans over a period of 800 years (BC 106 – AD 704). For my research I considered alternate periods and for each period I analysed a

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sample of 250 occurrences of *secundum* NP, with the exception of the Early Medieval period, only featuring 140 occurrences of the construction (see table 1, below). The meanings of conformity and beneficiary account for 498 (56%) of the 890 instance sample of *secundum* NP extracted from the 6M prose section of the *Latin Library* corpus via the CQP search engine (Hardie 2012). I analysed this sample of *secundum* NP constructions both qualitatively and quantitatively.

	Classical Latin BC 106-AD 17		**Silver Latin 100-258**		**Late Latin 330-469**		**Early Medieval 530-704**		**Total Rows**
	#	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	# not normed and (normed to 250	**%**	# not normed and (normed to 250
Conformity	91	36.4	156	62.4	166	66.4	56 (100)	40	469 (513)
Beneficiary	24	9.6	3	1.2	2	0.8	0	0	29
Total Columns	**115**	**46**	**159**	**63.6**	**168**	**67.42**	**56 (100)**	**40**	**498 (542)**

Table 1. *Secundum* NP with meanings of conformity and beneficiary in the *Latin Library* corpus.

This article is organised as follows. Section 2 presents the proto-scene encoded by the verb *sequor* 'follow,' from which *secundum* derives. Section 3 explores the connection of the conformity meaning to the spatial domain via the metaphorical mapping CONFORMITY IS MOTION ALONG. Then, section 4 offers an analysis of the beneficiary meanings of *secundum* NP via the metaphor IN FAVOUR OF IS ON THE SIDE OF. Next, section 5 deals with the role of force dynamics in the development of the two meanings, linking conformity to the proto-scene and beneficiary to conformity. Finally, section 6 concludes the paper. Sections 2 and 4 partly draw on Guardamagna (forth. 2017).

2. THE PROTO-SCENE: *SEQUOR* 'FOLLOW'

The preposition *secundum* comes from the gerund (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 139) or the gerundive (Ferrari 1998) of the verb *sequor* 'follow' (see Poultney 1980: 34, Vineis 1998: 308 and Garnier, 2015). Therefore, its semantics is tightly connected to the "proto-scene" (Tyler and Evans 2007: 3, Evans 2007) encoded by this verb. The basic scenario for the verb *sequor* involves two participants: a trajector and a landmark (Langacker 1987: 217, 231, Taylor, 1993: 153, Talmy 2000a: 37, Croft and Cruse 2004: 56). Both of them are prototypically construed as uniplex, i.e. as point-like, bounded entities (on the notion of plexity see Talmy 2000a: 58-59, 2000b: 458-459, Luraghi 2003: 25, 2006). Prototypically, both the trajector and the landmark are construed as having a front-back orientation, and the trajector is conceptualised as being behind the landmark from the vantage point of the viewer/speaker (see figure 1, below).

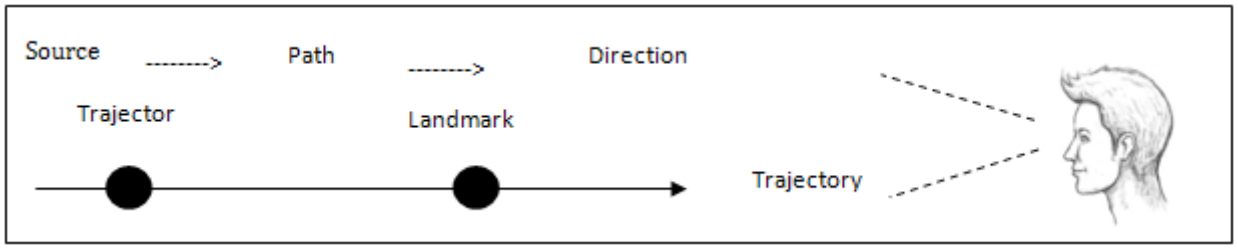

Figure 1. A prototypical motion event (after Luraghi 2014:103).

The movement is initiated by the landmark, with the trajector following (going behind) it. Importantly, both participants move along the same path and in the same direction. An example of this is sentence (1), below.

(1) *Iam* *sequ-or* *te,* *mater.*
already follow-IND.PRS.1P.SG.DEP you.ACC mother.VOC
'I am already following you, mother.' (Plautus, *Aulularia* 4, 7, 16 from Lewis & Short 1879)

The connection between *secundum* NP with conformity meaning and the proto-scene of *sequor* has not been explored in the literature. Section 3, below, deals with a possible source for conformity expressions, namely a construction meaning 'downstream'. Then, after having presented *secundum* NP expressions with beneficiary meaning in section 4, section 5 explains the connection between *secundum* NP with meaning of conformity and the proto-scene described here.

3. CONFORMITY

The function of conformity is the most frequent meaning of *secundum* NP throughout the history of Latin. It indicates that the trajector's state of affairs occurs in accordance with ('in line with') some properties of the landmark.

(2) *Ita fin-is* *bon-orum* *exist-it,* ***secundum*** ***natur-am***
So end-NOM.F.SG good-GEN.N.PL exist-IND.PRS.3P.SG in.accordance.with nature-ACC.F.SG
viv-ere.
live-INF.PRS
'Thus arises 'the end of goods', namely to live in accordance with nature.' (Cicero, *De Finibus* 5, 24)

(3) *Accep-erat* *a* *domin-o* *su-o…* *disciplin-am*
Took(PRF)-IND.PLUPRF.3P.SG from God-ABL.M.SG POSS.3P.SG-ABL.M.SG rule-ACC.F.SG
secundum ***leg-em*** *viv-endi.*
in.accordance.with *law*-ACC.F.SG live-GEN.GER
'He had received from his Lord… the rule to live according to the law.' (Tertullian, *Liber Scorpiace* 5, 11)

Analysing the Ancient Greek construction *katà* $NP_{accusative}$, the translational equivalent of *secundum* NP, Luraghi (2003: 200) suggests that the conformity meaning in (4) arises as a metaphorical mapping from the domain of physical movement, namely motion along ('along-downwards'), exemplified in (5) below.

(4) *àrsantes* *katà* *thumón*
suit:PART.AOR.NOM.PL down mind:ACC
'suiting it according to (my) mind' (Homer, *Iliad*, 1.136, from Luraghi 2010: 203)

(5) *potamoùs* *d'* *étrepse* *néesthai* *kàr* *rhóon*
river.ACC.PL PTC turn:AOR.3SG flow:INF.PRS.M/P down stream:ACC
'the rivers turned back to flow down the stream' (Homer, *Iliad*, 12.32-33, from Luraghi 2010: 200)

Specifically, Luraghi (2003: 203) observes that in examples like (5) "where the preposition means 'downstream' there is a sense of conformity to the flowing of the water: a downstream motion is a motion that follows the stream (whereas 'upstream' would mean 'contrary to the flow of water')".

One might suggest that a similar evolution path may also be posited for Latin. However, the expression *secundum flumen* 'downstream' appears only once in a motion-along context in the whole Classical Latin prose and poetry corpus within the *Latin Library* (3,725,672 words), and there are no occurrences of *secundum amnem* 'according to the river'.

(6) *Sex legion-es* *ad* *oppid-um* *Gergovi-am* ***secundum*** ***flumen***
Six legion-ACC.F.PL to city-ACC.N.SG Gergovia-ACC.F.SG along river.ACC.N.SG
Elaver *dux-it.*
Elaver led(PRF)-IND.PRF.3P.SG
'(He) led six legions to the city of Gergovia along the Elaver river.' (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 7)

This low frequency[2] may therefore suggest that the *secundum flumen* construction is unlikely to be the source of a metaphorical mapping CONFORMITY IS MOTION ALONG, connecting the space domain directly with the logical domain. On the one hand, assuming that frequency is a major factor for entrenchment and semantic change, one may speculate that the frequency of the nautical expression *secundum flumen/amnem* 'downstream' may have been greater in the spoken language than the written record suggests. On the other hand, frequency is not the only important factor for semantic change; salience is as well. The concept of ontological salience, borrowed from perceptual psychology, indicates that an object "stands out" from its surroundings because of some characteristics which do not conform to the group, conceptualised as background. Therefore, rare constructions like *secundum flumen/amnem* could be perceived as salient by speakers precisely because they are rare and they do not display the most frequently attested characteristics of other related *secundum* NP constructions.

Motion-along constructions are less frequent than location constructions and their landmarks have a force and a direction of their own, in contrast to other non-dynamic constructions in which the landmark is either ontologically static like in (7) or conceptualised like a static container as in (8).

2 Competing constructions expressing 'downstream' and 'upstream, against the flow' are nominal ablativus absolutus constructions, namely secundo flumine lit. 'the river being favourable' (attested twice in the Classical Latin corpus: Caesar, De Bello Gallico 7, 58 and 7,60) and adverso flumine lit. 'the river being contrary' (attested three times in my Classical Latin corpus, specifically in Caesar, De Bello Civili 3, 30, De Bello Gallico 7, 59-60 and once in Late Latin, namely in Sulpicius Severus, Chronica 1, 22). Admittedly, these constructions are also quite infrequent.

(7) *Tunc ab line-a qu-ae* ***secundum*** *abac-i extrem-am*
Then from line-ABL.F.SG REL-NOM.F.SG along abacus-GEN.M.SG farthest-ACC.F.SG
part-em *demiss-a erit, in interior-em*
part-ACC-F-SG dropped-NOM.F.SG be.IND.FUT.3P.SG toward internal-ACC.F.SG
part-em <ali-a> reced-at.
part-ACC.3P.SG other-NOM.F.SG go.back-SUBJV.PRS.3P.SG
'Then let another line be drawn… toward the inside of the line from the line which had been drawn along the edge of the abacus (= a flat slab placed above the capital of a column).'
(Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 3,5,6)

(8) *An ire-t ad tris legion-es Macedonic-as qu-ae*
Whether go.SBJV.IMPF-3P.SG to three legion-ACC.F.PL Macedonian-ACC.F.PL REL-NOM.F.PL
iter ***secundum mar-e*** *super-um faci-unt.*
trip.ACC.N.SG along sea-ACC.N.SG superior-ACC.N.PL do- IND.PRS.3P.PL
'Whether to go to three Macedonian legions which are travelling along the Adriatic' (Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 16, 8, 2)

Because of their salience, the *secundum flumen/amnem* constructions would then be able to provide image schemas, i.e. embodied structuring patterns for understanding and reasoning (Langacker 1987: 371, 2008: 23), which may then get entrenched in new constructions. This would conform to Schmid's observation (2010: 120) that "there is a two way relationship between salience and entrenchment".

However possible, I think that the explanation outlined above does not capture all factors at play. It is in fact also possible to suggest that the image schema of a landmark whose movement is independent from that of the trajector conforming to it is likely to have been inherited directly from the proto-scene of the verb *sequor* 'follow.' This additional explanation is explored in section 5.1, below. Before turning to this, section 4 presents the beneficiary meaning of *secundum* NP.

4. BENEFICIARY

The term beneficiary indicates the semantic role of a referent which is advantaged by an event (see Luraghi 2003: 40). This function of *secundum* NP is rare: it is found in Classical Latin and very marginally in Silver and Late Latin, before disappearing altogether in Early Medieval Latin (table 1, above).

(9) *Summ-a r-ei haec fuit: centumvir-i*
Highest-NOM.F.SG thing-GEN.F.SG this.NOM.F.SG be.IND.PRF.3P.SG centumvir-NOM.M.PL
dix-erunt d-are ips-os ***secundum*** ***adversari-um***
said(PRF)-IND.PRF.3P.PL give-INF.PRS they-ACC.M.PL in.favour.of opponent-ACC.M.SG
Albuci-i…
Albucius-GEN.M.SG
'This was the height/limit of the thing: the *centumviri* said that they would judge in favour of Albucius's opponent…' (Seneca, *Controversiae et Suasoriae* 7, 7)

Beneficiaries are typically human. By metonymy, also example (10), below, indicating a person's body, can be considered to indicate a human participant.

(10) *Contra si cui suggest-um fuerit,* ***secundum***
On.the.other.hand if REL.DAT suggested-ACC.N.SG be.SBJV.IMPF.3P.PL in.favour.of
corp-us *fortasse effic-ere remedi-a diabol-i.*
body-ACC.N.SG perhaps carry.out-INF/PRS remedy-ACC.N.PL devil-GEN.M.SG
'On the contrary, if to someone it was suggested to try, in favour of the body (= for the body's health) the remedies of the devil.' (Augustin, *Sermones* 4, 36)

Beneficiary *secundum* NP also appears in two fixed legal expressions: *litem DARE secundum aliquem* 'judge in favour of someone' (11) and *vindicias secundum libertatem/servitutem DARE/CEDERE* 'to enslave someone, to free someone' (lit. to decide a claim in favour of freedom/slavery) (12) (Adam 1807, Lewis & Short 1879 *vindiciae*, Nettleship 1889, Laffi 2007: 52-53). The expression in (11) is more prototypical than (12) because it encodes a human referent.

(11) ***Secundum te*** *lit-em d-o.*
In. favour.of you.ACC case-ACC.F.SG give-IND.PRS.1P.SG
'I judge in your favour.' (Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri* 2, *De Iure Triumphi*, 2.40)

(12) *M. Claudi-o client-i negoti-um ded-it,*
M.Claudius-DAT.M.SG client-DAT.M.SG task-ACC.N.SG gave(PRF)-3P.SG
ut virgin-em in servitut-em adser-eret neque
that girl-ACC.F.SG in slavery-ACC.F.SG claim-SBJV.IMPF.3P.SG nor
ced-eret ***secundum libertat-em*** *postulant-ibus*
give.in-SBJV.IMPF.3P.SG in.favour.of freedom-ACC.F.SG claimant-DAT.M.PL
vindici-as.
legal.claim-ACC.F.PL
'He instructed his client M. Claudius to claim the girl as his slave and not to give in to those who asked for her temporary freedom.' (Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 3, 44)

The beneficiary meaning of *secundum* NP may be linked to the proximity meaning 'alongside, near' of spatial *secundum* NP (example 13), and as such it can be explained with the metaphor IN FAVOUR OF IS ON THE SIDE OF outlined by Luraghi in her study on Greek prepositions (2003: 325, see also 2003: 118 fn. 11 and 2014: 115-119).

(13) *Reliqu-i… Icar-um…* ***secundum arbor-em*** *edfod-erunt.*
Other-NOM.M.PL Icarus-ACC.M.SG near tree-ACC.M.SG buried-IND.PRF.3P.PL
'The others… buried Icarus near a certain tree.' (Hyginus, *De astronomia* 2, 4, 10)

In the *Latin Library* Classical Latin sub-corpus there is one occurrence of the so-called "behalf beneficiary" (14), i.e. a type of beneficiary in which "the beneficient substitutes for the beneficiary"

(Luraghi 2010a: 97). Luraghi (2010b: 75) suggests that the behalf beneficiary meaning may have originated from prototypical beneficiaries through the following implicature: "acting in someone's place usually implies acting for his/her benefit".

(14) *Qu-i* *esse-t* ***secundum*** ***postum-um*** *et* *natum* *et*
REL-NOM.M.SG be.SBJV.IMPF-3PSG in.place.of child-ACC.M.SG both born-ACC.M.SG and
mortuum *here-s* *institut-us…*
dead-ACC.M.SG heir-NOM.M.SG nominated-NOM.M.SG
'[If] a man was appointed as substitute heir to a child (posthumously) who is born and then dies' (Cicero, *De Oratore* 1, 180)

I suggest that the metaphorical and metonymical explanations provided in this section for the development of the beneficiary *secundum* NP may not not be the only ones playing a role in this development. I will elaborate on the role of force dynamics in the development of the conformity and the beneficiary meanings in section 5, below.

5. A FORCE DYNAMICS INTERPRETATION OF CONFORMITY AND BENEFICIARY

The force dynamics model of construal of events (Talmy 1976, 1985, 1988, 2000a: 409-470) casts an interesting light on the semantics of conformity and beneficiary. The model of force dynamics is based on the idea that in many events there are (at least) two entities exerting force: "[t]he agonist is the entity that receives focal attention, and the antagonist is the entity that opposes the agonist, either overcoming the force of the agonist or failing to overcome it" (Evans 2007: 83). Both entities have a natural tendency towards either rest/inaction or motion/action.

In Latin, the evidence that *secundum* NP may have a force dynamic meaning component comes "indirectly" from the fact that both the conformity and the beneficiary functions form a pair of opposites with the preposition *contra* 'against'.[3] Section 5.1, below, focuses on the conformity meaning and section 5.2 focuses on the beneficiary meaning.

5.1 FORCE DYNAMICS AND CONFORMITY

Examining collocations[4] (McEnery & Wilson 2001: 23, McEnery & Hardie 2011: 122-133) for *secundum* NP and *contra* NP in the *Latin Library* corpus via the CQP web concordancer reveals that in Classical Latin prose both the *secundum* NP and the *contra* NP constructions have the noun *naturam* as their strongest immediate collocate (*secundum*:[5] log-likelihood = 874.897; *contra*: log-likelihood = 291.398). The direct contrast between *secundum* and *contra* is expressed in (15):

3 However, this opposition does not hold in the spatial domain: just like in English, also in Latin *Mary walks along a path* is not opposed to *Mary walks against a path*, nor does *the house is near the river* oppose to *the house is (located/built) against the river*.
4 The query algorithms are *secundum*_PREP and *contra*_PREP.
5 The expression *secundum naturam* is a direct calque of Greek *katà phúsin* 'according to Nature', in Plato and Aristotle and later entered into Roman philosophy (especially Cicero) through Stoicism (Vernon Arnold 2014[1911]: 282, fn. 68). The expression *katà phúsin* contrasts with *parà phúsin* 'against nature' (Jerome, *Vulgata*, *The First Epistle of Paul to the Romans* 26-27). This meaning of *parà* as a malefactive (a type of beneficiary meaning 'against, contrary to') is not discussed in Luraghi's (2003) study of Ancient Greek prepositions.

(15) *Adpet-entur autem, qu-ae* ***secundum natur-am***
Seek-SBJV.PRS.3P.PL.PASS therefore REL-NOM.F.PL according.to nature-ACC.F.PL
sint, declin-antur contrari-a...; quod autem
are.SUBJV.PRS.3P.PL reject- SBJ.PRS.3P.PL.PASS opposite-ACC.N.PL because in.fact
[omn-e animal] refug-it id ***contra***
every-NOM.N.SG animal[N.SG] flee(PRS)-IND.PRS.3P.SG it.ACC.N.SG against
natur-am *est…*
nature-ACC.F.G is
'So, all the things that accord with his/her nature are sought; the ones against nature are rejected…; every animal flees from what is against nature.' (Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 3, 3)

In this context, *contra* 'against' expresses a force dynamic configuration in which the trajector is the antagonist and the landmark is the agonist. This is particularly clear in contexts in which the agonist is represented by natural forces:

(16) ***Contra vim*** *atque impet-um flumin-is convers-a.*
Against force.ACC.F.SG and strength-ACC.M.SG river-GEN.N.SG turned.around-F.NOM.SG
'Turned around against the force and the strength of the rivers' (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 4, 17, 5)

(17) *Ut* ***contra vent-um*** *greg-em pasc-amus.*
For against wind-ACC.M.SG herd-ACC.M.SG pasture-IND.PRS.1P.PL
'In order to pasture the herd against the wind' (Columella, *De Re Rustica* 7,3,2)

Besides natural forces, or the laws of nature itself, a context of opposition is provided also by lexical items having an intrinsic social force, such as laws (*legem* 'law', *ius* 'law', *foedus* 'treaty') and institutions (*rem publicam* 'the state', *patriam* 'fatherland'), or religious force (*auspicia* 'auspices'), as shown by the strongest immediate collocates of *contra* in table 2, below. Among these, the lexical item *vim* 'force' encapsulates the central meaning component. The tenth collocate, *Stoicos* 'the Stoic philosophers' indicates a group of people: intended as social agents with their will and intentions, people can also be conceptualised as agonists.

	Immediate Collocate	**Log Likelihood**
1	*naturam* 'nature'	291.398
2	*legem* 'law'	265.243
3	*rem* (publicam) 'republic'	250.021
4	*leges* 'laws'	225.799
5	*auspicia* 'auguries'	156.708
6	*ius* 'law'	149.06
7	*patriam* 'home-country'	129.181
8	*foedus* 'treaty'	106.283
9	*vim* 'force'	99.423
10	*Stoicos* 'the Stoics'	84.236

Table 2. Immediate collocates of *contra* 'against' in Classical Latin prose.

The force dynamic configuration observed for *contra naturam* 'against nature', i.e. one in which the landmark is the agonist and the trajector is the antagonist, applies also to *secundum* NP expressing conformity, whose collocates are also predominantly law-like. Table 3, below, shows the nominal collocates of *secundum* in Classical Latin prose: *tabulas* means 'laws' and *naturam* is understood in philosophical writings as meaning 'the laws of Nature'.

	Collocate	Log-likelihood
1	*naturam* 'nature'	780.065
2	*mare* 'sea'	62.288
3	*quietem* 'sleep'	62.09
4	*tabulas* 'laws'	49.387
5	*deos* 'Gods'	48.639
6	*proelium* 'battle'	31.492
7	*eam* 'this'	17.868
8	*ea* 'these things'	5.5

(5 - *deos* 'Gods[6])

Other words which appear as arguments of *secundum* in the conformity construction are legal terms such as *decreta* 'decrees', *legem* 'law', *ius* 'law', *fas* 'destiny', *iudicium* 'judgment', and words having an element of regularity such as *consuetudinem* 'habit'. Also these nouns have a semantic component of force, a feature they share with the collocates of *contra*, thus explaining why the two prepositions stand in contrast to one another.

Focusing on *secundum* NP, I argue that its force dynamic meaning component may have been inherited directly from the proto-scene of the verb *sequor* 'follow', in which the landmark has the force of imposing on the trajectory the path and direction in which it should move.[7] The contrast between *secundum* 'in accordance with' and *contra* 'against' is therefore one between compliance or opposition of a trajector (the antagonist) with respect to a landmark conceptualised as the agonist. Figures 2 and 3, below, represent the relationship encoded by *contra* 'against' and *secundum* 'in accordance with' based on Talmy's (1988, 2000a, 2000b) force dynamics model. The circle is the agonist and the concave figure represents the antagonist.

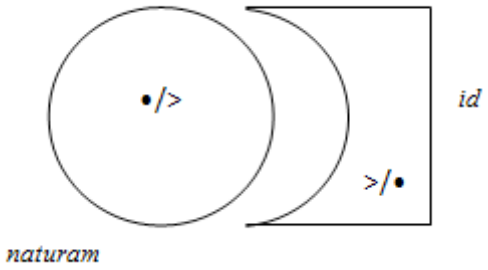

Figure 2. Force dynamics: *contra*. This diagram refers to example (15) above (*id contra naturam est* 'what is against nature').

6 I manually examined all the occurrences of Deos 'Gods', and found only one instance expressing conformity, whereas all the others express ranking.

7 It is possible to see also the constructions meaning 'downstream' as inherently encoding a force dynamic element, that is the force of gravity.

In terms of balance of strength between the agonist and the antagonist, in the case of *contra*, the antagonist may be halted by or overcome the agonist. In other words, *contra* simply signals a contrast between the intrinsic force tendencies of antagonist and agonist. The symbols > and • signal opposing tendencies, standing in contrast to one another: if the agonist is >, the antagonist is •, and vice versa.[8]

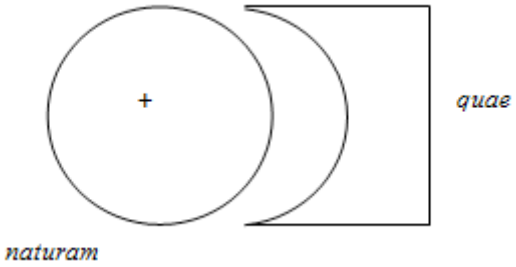

Figure 3. Force dynamics: *secundum* (conformity). This diagram refers to example (15) above (*quae secundum naturam sint* 'the things which are against nature').

In contrast to *contra*, *secundum* signals that regardless of the inherent force tendencies of agonist and antagonist (and regardless of whether these are opposed or not), the agonist follows the force of the antagonist (which is represented by the + sign in figure 3, above).

5.2 FORCE DYNAMICS AND BENEFICIARY

Just like the conformity meaning, beneficiary *secundum* 'in favour of'[9] also forms a pair with the preposition *contra* 'against', encoding a maleficiary, as shown by the contrast between example (18) and (19). A 'maleficiary', indicates a referent which is disadvantaged by a state of affairs.

(18) ***Secundum*** ***te*** *iudicat-um* *erit.*
In.favour.of you.ACC judged-NOM.N.SG be.FUT.IND.3P.SG
'It will be judged in your favour.' (Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 5, 10, 10)

(19) *Si ideo* ***contra*** ***emptor-em*** *iudicat-um* *est,* *quod*
If therefore against buyer-ACC.M.SG judged-ACC.N.SG be.IND.PRS.3P.SG because
defu-it, *non* *commit-itur* *stipulatio.*
not.be(PRF)-IND.PRF.3P.SG not commit-IND.PRS.3P.SG.PASS stipulation.NOM.F.SG
'If the judgment was pronounced against the buyer, because he did not show up [in court], the stipulation is not violated.' (Ulpian, *Digesta* 21, 2, 55)

The explanation for the emergence of the maleficiary meanings relies on force dynamic interactions. In contexts involving motion, *contra* may indicate counterforce exerted by the agonist (the landmark) against the antagonist (the trajector). This applies to (20)-(21), below, in which there is a hostile context involving physical exertion between two entities.

8 Corpus frequencies may shed light on whether one balance of force is more prototypical than the other, but this goes beyond the scope of my study.
9 Another Latin preposition meaning 'in favour of' is *pro*.

(20) ***Contra Caesar-em*** *... bell-um ger-ere coep-it.*
Against Caesa-ACC.M.SG war-ACC.N.SG carry.out-INF.PRS start(PRF)-IND.PRF.3P.SG
'He took up arms against Caesar.' (Caesar, Aulus Hirtius or Gaius Oppius, *De Bello Alexandrino* 24)

(21) *Ferre* ***contra patri-am*** *arm-a ill-i*
Take.INF.PRS against home.country-ACC.F.SG weapon-ACC.N.PL these-NOM.M.PL
cum Coriolan-o debu-erunt.
with Coriolan-ABL.M.SG must(PRF)-IND.PRS.3P.PL
'These [friends] had to take up arms against their homeland together with Coriolan.' (Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 11, 36)

It is possible[10] that a force configuration of opposition was extended from warfare contexts like (20) and (21) to contexts of legal contention, an example of which is (19), above. Another example within the legal sphere is (22), below, representing the construction *AGERE contra aliquem* 'to plead against someone'.

(22) *Cum ager-em* ***contra homin-em*** *disertissim-um*
When do-SUBJV.IMP.1P.SG against man-ACC.M.SG eloquent-ACC.M.SG
nostr-ae civitat-is…
POSS.1P.PL-GEN.F.SG city-GEN.F.SG
'When I was pleading against the most eloquent man of our city…' (Cicero, *Pro Caecina* 33, 97)

In (22), the trajector-antagonist is the writer, Cicero, raising a law-suit against Cotta, who is the affected landmark-agonist, i.e. the 'damaged' party. This force dynamic arrangement is also present in (19), above, in which it may however appear less clear because the passive voice backgrounds the trajector-antagonist (presumably a judge). In (19) the person who is in charge of judging (the agonist), has more power than the antagonist, the buyer, who is construed as negatively affected by the judge's unfavourable decision and therefore as a damaged party. On the basis of this analysis, I argue that there is a parallelism[11] between physical warfare contexts and legal ones. In both, the antagonist exerts force over the agonist which is affected either by some (potential) physical damage or unfavourable (legal) action. Talmy's force dynamics model does not encompass a separate symbol representing maleficiaries so the representation of the construction NP_1 *contra* NP_2, where NP_2 fulfils the semantic role of maleficiary, is the same as figure 3 above.

Having clarified a possible force dynamic development for the maleficiary meaning of *contra* 'against,' my discussion now turns to the construction NP_1 *secundum* NP_2 (NP_1 'in favour of' NP_2), where NP_2 expresses the beneficiary meaning. All 24 instances of *secundum* NP with the beneficiary meaning in the Classical Latin sub-corpus of the *Latin Library* occur in legal contexts of decision making resulting in someone being favoured (i.e. a beneficiary). As discussed in section 4 above, two instances show the fixed phrase *secundum libertatem/servitutem vindicias DARE/DIRE/DECERNERE* 'to enslave someone, to free someone' (lit. to decide a claim in favour of freedom/slavery)'. The majority of

10 My data does not show diachronic evidence for this extension (legal uses are already attested in the classical period), so the meaning extension is merely stated here as a possibility on the basis of the fact that more abstract meanings tend to be derived from more physical/concrete meanings.

11 Whether this parallelism corresponds to historical development cannot be ascertained on the basis of my corpus data.

instances of beneficiary *secundum* NP (19/24 occurrences) in the *Latin Library* occur with the VPs *IUDICARE* 'to judge', *DECERNERE* 'to judge, vote, declare', *decretum/iudicium FACERE* 'to make a decision', *sententiam DICERE* 'cast/express a vote', *ius DARE* 'to make/give the law', *DARE* 'to give (a vote)', and *DISPUTARE* 'decide'.

(23) *Itaque, Lutat-i…* ***secundum*** ***te*** *lit-em* *d-o.*
So Lutatius-VOC.M.SG in.favour.of you.ACC suit-ACC.F.SG give-IND.PRS.1P.SG
'So, Lutatius, I judge in your favour.' (Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri*, 2, 8, 2)

(24) *Iudici-um* ***secundum*** ***Heracli-um…*** *fact-um* *er-at…*
Judgment-ACC.M.SG in.favour.of Heraclius-ACC.M.SG done-ACC.M.SG be-IND.IMPF
'[since] the judgment… had been made in favour of Heraclius' (Cicero, *In Verrem* 2, 2, 66)

An interesting preliminary observation regards the speakers' choice of *secundum* NP to encode beneficiary in these contexts instead of the two competitor constructions expressing beneficiary in Latin: the dative 'of interest' and the *pro* NP_{ABL} construction. In one of its uses, the dative case expresses the entity to whose advantage or disadvantage a certain state of affairs occurs: in some cases, the reading of beneficiary or maleficiary depends on the semantics of the predicate,[12] (*utilis est* 'is useful' in example (25), below, while in other cases it is pragmatically determined in context as in example (26), also below).

(25) *Lex* *utilis* *est* *plebi.*
Law-NOM.F.SG useful-NOM.F.SG be-3P.SG people.DAT
'This law is useful for the people.' (Example and glosses after van Langendonck 1998: 234)

(26) *Lupo* *est* *homo* *homini.*
Wolf-NOM.M.SG be-3P.SG man-NOM.M.SG man-DAT.M.SG
'Man is a wolf to man.' (ibid.)

The so called *dativus commodi/incommodi* 'dative of advantage/disadvantage' (Pinkster 2015: 855 among others) occurs with verbs of helping/caring (and their opposites); verbs of pleasing, flattering and threatening; verbs of ruling, obeying and serving and verbs of approaching and befalling (ibid.); but not with verbs of decision. It is possible that the dative is not suitable in legal contexts of decision, in which nothing should be left open to interpretation, and the meaning of advantage or disadvantage needs to be unambiguously spelled out.

Two last instances of beneficiary *secundum* NP in the *Latin Library* corpus feature the verb *DARE* 'give' in the context of the inheritance of goods, whose allocation is decided by law or a judge. An example of this is (27), below. In these instances, *secundum* NP does not express the recipient of the physical transfer of goods, but the person to whose advantage the decision of transferring the goods is made. In other words, in these contexts *DARE* 'give' indicates the transfer of ownership, not possession, two distinct concepts in Roman Law (Sohm et al. 1892: 252). If the dative 'of interest'

12 The dative can also be taken by adjectives (*utilis/inutilis tibi* 'useful/useless to you') or adverbs (e.g. *congruenter naturae vivere* 'to live in accordance with nature', Cicero *De Finibus* 3, 9, 30).

was used in this context, its function could be confused with the recipient of DARE 'give,' thus suggesting transfer of physical possession instead of the act of granting someone legal rights over some goods. *Secundum* NP, therefore, indicates the person to whose benefit a legal decision regarding conveyance is made.

(27) *Si intestat-us mortu-us esset, ita* ***secundum***
If nominated-NOM.M.SG dead-NOM.M.SG be.SUBJV.IMPF.3P.SG so in.favour.of
eum *possessi-o dar-etur.*
him.ACC.M.SG possession-NOM.F.SG give-SUBJV.IMPF.3P.SG.PASS
'If the person nominated in the will was dead, the possession [of his goods] would be granted to him.' (Cicero, *In Verrem* 2, 1, 44)

The *pro* NP_{ABL} construction is widely used in legal contexts when the idea of advantage is associated with the idea of protection or defence, as shown in many titles of Cicero's speeches (e.g. *Pro Sulla* 'in defence of Sulla') and in (28).

(28) *... et apud popul-um... cum* ***pro*** ***Milone*** *dic-eret,*
And among people-ACC.M.SG as in.defence.of Milo speak-SUBJV.IMPF.3P.SG
clamor-e convici-o-que iact<at>-us est…
noise-ABL.M.SG scorn-ABL.N.SG-and thrown-NOM.M.SG be.IND.3P.SG
'In the public meeting he was shaken by noise and abuse as he spoke in defence of Milo.'
(Cicero, *Ad Familiares* 1.5b.1)

So, since a judgment, unlike a lawyer's speech, is not pronounced in defence of someone, *pro* NP_{ABL} is also unsuitable to express the role of beneficiary in context of legal choices. In sum, the corpus distribution of *secundum* NP with beneficiary meaning allows us to understand why neither the dative case nor the *pro* NP_{ABL} prepositional phrases are suitable to express a meaning of advantage in legal contexts of decision making. What follows explains why *secundum* NP, unlike the dative 'of interest' and the *pro* NP_{ABL} construction, is semantically suitable to express the beneficiary role.

Apart from the fixed expressions *secundum libertatem/servitutem vindicias DARE/DIRE/DECERNERE* 'to enslave someone, to free someone (lit. to decide a claim in favour of freedom/slavery)', the argument of *secundum* with beneficiary meaning refers to a human participant. In the context of legal decision making, and even more clearly litigation (as in examples (23)-(24), above), each of the people whose case is being decided have a will, understood as a particular and most preferred desired outcome, in contrast to that of their opponents in a legal case. The beneficiary *secundum* NP expressions can be understood as conformity expressions, and paraphrased as 'in accordance with the will of NP' (i.e. the argument of *secundum*], as suggested in Lewis & Short (1879 *secundum*: B2). *Secundum* NP in these contexts is not a modifier of the whole VP, indicating the manner in which the state of affairs is carried out. For instance, if *secundum* NP had scope over *litem do* in (23) and *iudicium factum erat* in (24), *secundum* NP would indicate that the judge made a decision in a way that conforms to the reader's will or Heraclius's will. Instead, *secundum* NP modifies the direct object within the predicate, specifically *litem* in (23) and *iudicium* in (24): it is

the judgment which is in line with the reader's or Heraclius's will. The paraphrases in (29) and (30), below, capture this for (23) and (24) respectively.

(29) So, Lutatius, I make a decision/judgment (which is) in accordance with your preferred desire/outcome.

(30) So, the judgment had been made (which is) in accordance with the will of Heraclius.

A judgment matching someone's desired outcome can also be conceptualised as a decision in favour of that person: this may explain the shift in meaning from conformity to beneficiary. This shift is inferential (metonymic) and not metaphorical.

In terms of force dynamics, the conceptualisation underlying the beneficiary meaning of *secundum* NP relates to the semantic frame of compliance (*FrameNet*: *Compliance*), which was noted in section 3, above, for the meaning of conformity. This frame is characterised by two entities: one entity setting direction and path in the physical world or dictating some rules in the psycho-social world, and the other entity complying with them. However, in the case of beneficiary *secundum* NP there is a difference: the landmark does show a semantic component of force (the person's will), but this force is not stronger than the power exercised by the decision-maker (i.e. the judge in the legal contexts examined) (cf. figure 3, above).

To summarise, this section started off by considering the maleficiary expressions *contra* NP constituting a pair of opposites with the beneficiary *secundum* NP constructions. Both maleficiaries and beneficiaries have a force dynamics component. The beneficiary function connects to the semantic frame of compliance, thus showing similarities with the conformity construction. Looking at the scope of *secundum* NP lent further support to the connection between conformity and beneficiary. This link is metonymic in nature (inference). Finally, a contrastive analysis between *secundum* NP and its competitor beneficiary constructions (the bare dative case and pro NP_{ABL}) explained why *secundum* NP is the favourite expression in legal contexts of decision. To conclude, force dynamics, metonymy and the legal contexts of decision making are all factors that may have operated alongside the metaphorical mapping IN FAVOUR OF IS ON THE SIDE OF (described in section 4, above) for the emergence of the beneficiary meaning of *secundum* NP.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper provided a corpus-based cognitive semantic analysis of the conformity and the beneficiary meanings of the *secundum* NP construction through the history of Latin, thus filling a gap in the literature on Latin prepositions. The meaning of conformity is the most frequent over time, reaching a peak in Silver Latin (100-258) whereas the beneficiary meaning is marginal and declining until its disappearance in Early Medieval Latin (from 530).

First, this paper explained the meaning of conformity discussing its possible origin coming from

expressions meaning 'downstream' via the metaphor CONFORMITY IS MOTION ALONG. This hypothesis is evaluated by considering frequency, ontological salience and the distinction between written and spoken language. Without completely ruling out the possibility of an extension from an expression meaning 'downstream', I argue that an explanation based directly on the extraction of schemas from the proto-scene and force dynamics appears to be more plausible.

Next, this paper considered the beneficiary meaning, ranging from the more to the less prototypical instances. I argued that the beneficiary meaning is connected to the spatial meaning of *secundum* NP via the metaphor IN FAVOUR OF IS ON THE SIDE OF, and that the 'behalf beneficiary' indicating substitution may be connected to the prototypical beneficiary via implicature, a process which is metonymic in nature. On top of metaphor and metonymy this paper showed that also force dynamics possibly also play a role, connecting the beneficiary meaning directly to the meaning of conformity.

The evidence that *secundum* NP may have a force dynamic meaning component comes indirectly, namely from the fact that both the conformity and the beneficiary functions form a pair of opposites with the preposition *contra* 'against'.

I argued that the force dynamic component of the conformity meaning derives directly from the basic scenario of the verb *sequor* 'follow', in which the landmark has the force of imposing on the trajector its path and direction of movement. I also showed that the force dynamic component of the beneficiary *secundum* NP is somehow connected to the semantic relation of compliance of the trajector on the path and trajectory imposed by the landmark. However, the landmark's strength is not greater than the trajector's. Furthermore, in legal contexts, a metonymical process may take place whereby a judgment conforming to someone's desired outcome is reinterpreted as a decision in favour of that person. The force dynamics interpretation comes together with metonymy (inference) in explaining the meaning connection between conformity and beneficiary.

To conclude, this paper showed a range of mechanisms which come into play in explaining the development of the conformity and the beneficiary meanings of *secundum* NP. Whilst some metaphorical and metonymical processes had already been suggested in the literature on translational equivalents and Romance continuers of *secundum* NP, the role played by force dynamics had been previously overlooked. Against this background, my paper provided a complete and integrated account of the possible mechanisms and motivations underlying the development of the conformity and beneficiary meanings of Latin *secundum* NP, thus adding to a body of research on prepositions within cognitive linguistics.

ABBREVIATIONS

1P First person; 3P Third person; ABL Ablative; ACC Accusative; AOR Aorist; DAT Dative; F Feminine; FUT Future; GEN Genitive; GER Gerund; IMPF Imperfect; IMPFV Imperfective; IND Indicative; INF Infinitive; M Masculine; M/P Medio/Passive; N Neuter; NOM Nominative; NP Noun

phrase; PASS Passive; PL Plural; PLUPERF Pluperfect; POSS Possessive; PRF Perfect; PRS Present; PTC Particle; REL Relative pronoun; SBJV Subjunctive; SG Singular; VOC Vocative; . Functions of portmanteau morphemes or functions of morphemes whose segmentation is not shown; - Morpheme boundary; (…) Non overt element or sound change.

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